/90 cont./

181 sacred and the profane, aptitude for history: these four characteristics are correlative.

631 Thus, then, the power of the leaders is completely temporal. It proceeds from the consensus of assemblies, which one occasionally sees meeting with a first appearance of constitutional regularity with periodic comitia, holy places, fixed procedure, etc. It is also by contractual routes, but from which he tries little by little to break away, that the chief becomes greater. He arrogates to [661] himself more than his share of the spoils of the vanquished at the time of distributions of booty. He enlarges his lands through deceit and pressure. It is especially in this landed-property aspect that his citizens see him advance. They are sensitive to it, for it injures their material interests, but also shocks their conception of legitimacy. Deprived of popular assent, the chief tends to become a tyrant. Not without revengeful onslaughts of the jemâa-s, each time that defeat or death weakens his work. Thus tyranny appears as a phenomenon of voracity, of expansion, archaic form of economic concentration. And it stirs up reactions, of which a number of documents are the echo.

/91/ This said, is it not strange that this phenomenon is reproduced at different times, with the same characteristics? For example, the Imt'ddan had their great amghar, whose power projected over the Dwiran, indeed, over the Indmaghus: Bwizugman. It is he who achieved the driving back of the a. Gasa, started more than a century before. The Idma, too, near the end of the eighteenth century, had Lh'âjj Bujmâ, who monopolized the lands of the valley, until the plague killed him and the community got rid of his sons.

[423] Such expansions, one will see, discover their limits in the [428] landed-property customs and the mechanisms of local law. Thus they cannot go very far. Often tradition mentions such a great personage, amghar or other, spread broadly over his landed estates, but who dies without male descendants: everything returns to the collective regulation. Such was the case of Bwizugman, and such also the one of another rich man of the high a. Abdella. These silhouettes of great chiefs are not rare. Over the

/91 cont./

631 lapse of two centuries that the memory of the cantons restores, we know of several who paralyze for a time the egalitarian rhythms of the taqbilt-s. Ascents followed by falls: quite a political sinusoid is thus profiled in the shadows of the past.

648 Occasionally the amplitude of the variation is such that a third factor interveneS: the Makhzen /makhzan/. Then the whole game is thrown off, or at least another contest starts. Thus the vicissitudes of personal power lose their integrally montagnard physiognomy. That happened but little among the Seksawa, except in uncertain fashion. In a. H'adduyws, an attempt of this order in the second half of the nineteenth century failed before the reaction of the citizens. Whence a scene in the manner of Nouvelles asiatiques /Asiatic News/.

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/The rest of this section is in small type in the original source./ Moh'ammed u Mançur lived peacefully with the a. Bah'ammô. A large harvest of walnuts, the abuse of whey, and the perfidious counsel of a friend, Amstak, originally from the H'ah'a, filled him with ambition. The evil counselor and he left for Marrakech and conferred with the guardian of the mausoleum of Sidi bel ᶜAbbâs in order for him to put them in contact with the sultan. He thus hid them in an armoire. On a day that Mulay H'asân made a visit to the saint, they rose up before him. After bargaining, he conceded to Moh'ammed the investiture of caid over the a. H'adduyws for the payment of 5,000 reals.

[661]

The new caid set out again for his tribe. But he had hardly arrived at the bottom of the Seksawa valley when his brothers advised him that they did not want him. He judged it more prudent to delay. Returning to Marrakech, and reaching the Asif el-Mâl, he bequeathed his ambitions to Amstak. Then he climbed the mountain and reassumed the modest appearance that the a. H'adduyws had always /92/ known for him, in return for which they accepted him and allowed him to live with the a. Bah'ammô as before.

Amstak pushed the adventure further. From the irritated Sultan he obtained a general order to the tribes of the plain to

2: Montagne--357 E-5 (c.1921-1928) 1930 MW11 Shluh MW11

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Book III

The Rise and the Development of Personal Power

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First Chapter

The Rise of Personal Power; the Amghar, Canton Chief

I. General conditions for the rise of personal power. -- II. The struggle of the soffs and the appearance of the amghar. -- III. The first financial resources of the chief. -- IV. The beginnings of the amghar of Tagontaft (1850-1860). -- V. The amghar El Hajj Hafid of the Idma (1905-1925). -- VI. The amghars of the Ida ou Zeddagh (1840-1925). -- VII. The government of the canton by the amghar. -- VIII. The amghars and the policy of the leffs. -- IX. The amghars grow more important apart from the Makhzen. -- X. The minor chiefs of the Ida ou Tanan. -- XI. The minor chiefs of the oases of the South. -- XII. The amghars of the Rif. -- XIII. The chiefs of the Kabylie /Kabylia/.

*634 642 661 I. General conditions for the rise of personal power. -- To divide equitably the benefits of power among the family heads, and in order to succeed at it, to exercise an anxious surveillance over the ambitious ones, such is the constant concern that dominates the whole internal policy of the little Berbère /Berber/ republics. But whatever the vigilance of the councils of notables, one always sees men appear in whom the taste for honors, money, or power makes them find the cadre in which tradition intends to enclose them too narrow. In all the tribes, even where oligarchic or democratic institutions are most completely accepted, chiefs rise for a time above the assemblies, seize authority, and try, in taking the title of amghar, to found by violence what de Foucauld rightly called despotic power.

Most often the results of these attempts are ephemeral. The regime of tyranny inaugurated by the amghar does not survive him, and immediately after his death the reaction of 642 the small oligarchies or the masses carries away his work. At *634 other times, too, local circumstances are favorable for the 198

/272 cont./

*634 681 178 Now it sometimes happens that on the scales of settlement thus established there are substituted for the names of all the notables of the fraction those of three or four important personages, who give their approbation in the name of all. At the same time, the primitive rule of distribution of the fines is perverted. One third is apportioned to the moqaddem, one third to these influential men, who give themselves the title of "ʿayan" (1).

1. Arabic "ʿayân," notables.

[652] one third to the "taqbilt," represented by effaced and starving inflas. With the same stroke the common treasury disappears.

*634 671 178 A decisive step is taken when we see the traditional name of "moqaddem" disappear in the acts to make way for that of a personage henceforth called "the respected amghar So-and-So." Near the name of the amghar are found only those of the notables, the "ʿayan." [681] An additional clause stipulates that the new master of the canton will collect, in addition to a third of the fines, a [651] third of the ʿachour, the Koranic tax that the Berbère /Berber/ [794] republics paid up to then wholly to religious personages or to the [735] poor. Often, even, a measure of barley per household was [465] granted for the benefit of the amghar. Personal power is henceforth established.

*634 • 661 578 613 726 These beginnings did not exist without requiring long and patient efforts of the new chief. Before taking authority, the amghar has arranged for himself the support of the heads of the most important "ikhs," and by /273/ clever intrigues he has succeeded in setting aside those who were hostile to him or making them disappear. But almost always this internal revolution does not take place without combat. Another notable, equally rich and courageous, opposes the ambitious amghar with all his forces, with his "ikhs"; war breaks out and is waged furiously until the defeated one is killed or banished with all his people; his village falls into ruins and the victorious chief retains power as long as he has the strength to do it and escapes the

726 /273 cont./
*634 vengeance of the exiles. Sometimes in the course of these com-
•661 bats the "taqbilt" is seen to split into two groups, each having
578 its chief, who, with arms in hand, dispute the possession of the
613 limitrophe households. The marabouts and the moqaddems of
[616] the friendly leff usually intervene in these circumstances, in
[792] order to re-establish unity somehow or other.

Woe to the amghar who establishes his power without first of
*634 all having had his authority recognized by everyone, if need be
661 by traitorously assassinating his rivals! His career is indeed
[682] quickly stopped by the return to fortune of an enemy from the
first hours. This is what happened to a minor amghar of the Sek-
175 sawa in the middle of the last century, Hammo Ou Bella of the
*634 canton of the Aït Lahsen /sic/, father of Si Mokhtar Seksawi, the
578 very one who was later to subjugate part of the mountains, fight
661 victoriously against the Mtouggi, and become the greatest chief.
726 of his tribe. Hammo Ou Bella, moqaddem of Awines, had suc-
ceeded in imposing himself upon the notables of his "taqbilt."
In order to consolidate his power and have unity around him, he
[616] threw himself, with the leff of the "Imsifern," into the conquest
of two fractions of the adverse leff, the Aït Mousa and the Sekrat,
these two little groups that his son, after meticulous preparation,
was to annex long years later without striking a blow. But in the
course of these enterprises his own "taqbilt" abandoned him,
following the intrigues of a rival "ikhs" head, El Hajj ʿAli
Hammo, whom he had neglected to get rid of; Hammo Ou Bella
perished, abandoned by his brothers, under the blows of the war-
riors of the defeated fractions.

Si Mokhtar, son of the Moqaddem Hammo Ou Bella, retained
175 the lesson; when he in his turn had taken power and experienced
*634 all the difficulties that the presence of hostile "ikhs" can cause a
613 new amghar, he took advantage of a happy return to fortune to
682 invite all his enemies to a magnificent festival to celebrate the
578 /274/ reconciliation of the parties; then at night, while the
noise of the songs and dances was filling the valley, he discreetly
175 had all his enemies assassinated. The continuation of his policy
*634 was thus simplified, and this fortunate beginning opened up to

/274 cont./
175 him the brilliant career whose stages we shall soon learn (1).
*634

1. Notes from F. de La Chapelle.

*634 III. The first financial resources of the chief. -- The al-
556 ways difficult situation of the new amghar is more rapidly ame-
•661 liorated when to the redoubtable strength of a numerous clan he joins the irresistible power of money. Money is indeed, according to the words of the Berbère /Berber/ poet (2):

2. Justinard, Manuel de Berbère du Sous
/Manual of Berber of the Sous/, p. 67.

"A diplomat who does not allow no in speaking."

By buying the co-operation of the enemies of his enemies, the amghar will succeed in conquering more easily than by the force of his arms.

*634 But the resources of the canton chief at his beginnings are
556 very limited. The landed wealth in these rugged valleys is
434 acquired only very slowly, to the mind of an ambitious man; it
661 cannot exceed, moreover, the possession of a few fields and a thousand sheep and always remains insufficient to serve great
[681] schemes. The proceeds from the fines, it is true, do not stop increasing, because the scales of settlement rise at the same time as the amghar's authority is asserted; the chief confiscates for his own advantage the criminals' property and reduces more and more the part left for the notables of the council. One can even say that there is no surer way to judge the authority taken by the amghar than to know in what manner the primitive rules of distribution of the fines into three equal parts have been modified to his advantage.

[431] One can further add to these meager benefits the gifts re-
[681] ceived at the time of the arbitration of conflicts, the fines collected in the little mountain souqs /sooks/ in administering justice there, and finally the contributions that all the families of the "taqbilt" consent to pay annually. But all that cannot

*634 556 434 661 /274 cont./ permit attempting vast enterprises. On the other hand, to try to increase the profits of command by abuses in this small territory would risk weakening the support presently given to the amghar by the formerly hostile "ikhs." The chief thus finds himself constrained /275/ to ask outside for the fortune that he cannot acquire in his own canton.

[651] [486] [558] Of course there are indeed the benefits from the "zettata," which all foreigners are made to pay for passage through the cols. But that is a gain left customarily to the poor people and to the route cutters; although it is not illegal, in the eyes of the Berbères /Berbers/, an amghar could not keep it for himself -- at least publicly -- without falling. One single path remains [721] open, more glorious and conforming to the traditions of the "taqbilt": war waged against the leff enemies. In this will be found the advantage of maintaining the accord of the new subjects and at the same time consolidating, by the bonds of combat, the union of the naturally divided "ikhs" around a single chief.

*634 661 72 57 [574] So the beginnings of an ambitious amghar are similar everywhere in the high valleys. With his first resources he constructs a solid house provided with a large reception room in order to receive guests properly, to create friendships for himself, to augment his following in the allied cantons. He is generous, entertains with liberality, receives favorably all who come to seek his protection and take refuge with him. The amghars and the moqaddems of the vicinity appeal to him when they are in [616] difficulty. From then on, every occasion that presents itself for sustaining the weak cantons of his leff and bringing them the support of his warriors serves his policy. His forces are put at the service of his leff, and already, by the intrigues that he concocts in the "taqbilt" of the adverse side, by means of soff struggles, he intervenes to disunite the common enemy and prepare its defeat.

121 *634 128 It remains for us to show by some examples how this clever external policy permits the amghars to establish and maintain their power. The history of the origins of the chiefs of Tagontaft,

*634 /345 cont./
*631 makhzen /makhzan/ leader only new burdens. In order to equip
652 his mokhaznis, supply them with arms, buy the complicity of
[648] the minor chiefs of the vicinity, and struggle at the court of the
[701] Makhzen against the dangerous influences of the nearby great chiefs by distributing considerable sums to the great ones, new resources are always needed. It is then necessary to impose on
[651] the tribes extraordinary contributions, "frida," to buy the lands
[728] from the ruined inhabitants or, better, to confiscate them, when villages have been destroyed and the families exiled. Hundreds
[567] of slaves are bought to cultivate these abandoned fields. The retinue of the house does not cease to grow. In proportion as the importance of the domains and of the command increases, the intermediaries also become more and more numerous, the harvests and the taxes melt away in their hands, and the chief receives no more than a small part of them.

[619] With an ever-increasing ambition, the kaid then tries to get,
[661] by force or by intrigue, to establish himself in the richest tribes in the vicinity, while the ruin of the ones that he already commands is consummated.

[466] Corvées, taxes, and fines are multiplied indeed, and, in
[651] order to find the money required by the mokhaznis, the peasants
[681] come to the casbah to sell their unripe harvests, their almonds in bloom, and to pawn their fields. Against the urgent necessity of
[571] finding resources, no consideration can hold if it is not that of
[557] keeping intact the very organization of the command by treating with respect the few families whose fate is bound up with that of the kaid. So the great concern of the chief is to acquire goods by every means. If this regime could continue /346/ to endure, the kaid, with his brothers, would come to possess all the lands of the country.

*634 Doubtless in the beginning preferential treatment is still re-
*631 served in the Asif Nefis for the "Aît Iraten," among whom the
616 Gontafi found so many allies; but later, when the memory of the
652 institution of the leffs is almost lost, after 40 years of internal
178 peace, the friendly cantons of the past will end up by being sub-
557 ject to the common regime of the "frida" and corvées. Only the

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*634 /346 cont./
*63 families who have entered the service of the new power will keep
616 their exemptions and maintain some ease in the general poverty.
652 In other commands, among the Mtougga, for example, the
178 notables of the kaid's tribe utilized in the administration and the
184 government of the conquered regions often get the title of amghar
*631 in their own village. They command only members of their
*634 family, but thanks to their rank as amghar they avoid, for the
557 extraordinary contributions, being subject to the ruinous agency
554 of the caliphates and mokhaznis and deal directly with the great
chief. Among the Glawa, certain cantons remain privileged be-
184 cause they still furnish in great number minor chiefs and contin-
*631 gents in charge of keeping the distant tribes under the yoke.
*634 These missions abroad are rather profitable besides, and one thus
662 sees poor valleys, like that of the Ouneila, associated from the
first with the fortune of the master of Telwet, adorned with hand-
some dwellings. Their inhabitants have become rich in the serv-
ice of the lord and they have followed his example from afar by
building houses adorned with towers.

*631 While the domains increase, other residences also are seen to
*634 rise around the house of the chief. They are those of his brothers
•661 and relatives who have participated with him in the conquest of
602 the tribes for some years. Tagontaft, Talat n Yaqoub in the Asif
Nefis, Bou Taradin in the small state of Mokhtar Seksawi, Boua-
boud of the Mtougga, the little basin of Telwet uniformly present
to us the same spectacle of the colonization of the best lands by
the chief's relatives, who also have become beneficiaries of the
corvées and lenders of money to the poor people.

*631 Finally, under the protection of the casbah, a small mellah
*634 /ghetto/ is established; Jews facilitate trade and conclude with
43 the Mussulmans /347/ all the bargains that the kaid could not
443 negotiate directly without blushing. By control of the important
563 souks /sooks/ at the foot of the mountains, the creation of large
[543] annual fairs, such as the "mousem of Taouloukoult" of the
[655] Mtougga, the economic life itself is governed by the mountain
chief, who takes possession little by little of all the country's
resources to the point that he will soon come to rent out the mo-
nopoly of the sale of commodities to friends or Jewish associates.

/383 cont./

*631 648 expense of the nearby regions, still half-rebellious toward domination by the Makhzen /makhzan/, the new political state brings only an accumulation of misery and the development of intolerable abuses for the country.

*631 648 829 619 661 In the eyes of the subject Berbère /Berber/ it is the kaid himself who appears as the principal agent of his misfortune. People in the country try in vain at the beginning to limit the injustices that he can commit. When a tribe, after having succeeded in living in anarchy for several years, finds itself weary of the confusion and yields to the clever pressure exerted by the Makhzen on the notables and sheiks, it most often designates as spokesman, and as eventual kaid, a man chosen because he is modest and believed to be without ambition. Thus they hope to be able to oppose more /384/ easily the activity of a chief who can henceforth become, if he likes, an absolute master. But the new kaid, his brothers, or his sons very quickly break away from every rule; it is the same for the sheiks who in the beginning do not dare decide anything without consulting the notables and soon stop assembling them; they obey in all circumstances, they say to excuse themselves, the kaid's formal orders. The more advanced the transformation of the country is, prepared by the action of the amghars for centuries, the more the authority of the makhzen chiefs is made absolute and is easily freed from all control.

*631 *634 602 661 The only ones who to a certain degree escape the exactions of the kaids and amghars are those who are attached to them by ties of kinship or the recollection of former alliances. So in the tribes one often sees rich and powerful villages whose prosperity contrasts with the ruin of other hamlets almost deserted. The former are those of the chief's "brothers," the latter are those of enemy or rival families.

*631 661 602 The misfortune is still greater when the kaid is an outsider to the tribe; all are then "eaten" without distinction as to origin, while around the casbah prosper the relatives and servants of the master, who sometimes even have their riches taken out of the territory in order to send them to their own tribe.